

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY: ALEXANDER F. WATSON

APPROVED BY: ALEXANDER F. WATSON EB/IFD/ODF 2431

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FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 11302 ACTION SECSTATE JIDDA INFO USUN NY
BRUSSELS PARIS JUL 21.

QUOTE: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 11302

JIDDA FOR COOPER FROM HORMATS

USEEC

USOECN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: EGEN, ECOSOC, AID

SUBJECT: 1978 SUMMER ECOSOC: CONSULTATIONS ON COMMITTEE
OF THE WHOLE (COW): JULY 18-20, 1978

REF: GENEVA 10986 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: ON JULY 18, COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CHAIRMAN
JAZAIRY DISCUSSED HIS PLANS FOR TRANSFER OF RESOURCES (TOR)
ITEM WITH VARIOUS GROUPS. ON JULY 19, HE AND HORMATS
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HAD A FRANK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON HOW COW WAS TO OPERATE,
FOLLOWED BY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN HORMATS AND PEREZ-GUERRERO,
IN WHICH GREATER RAPPROACHMENT OF VIEWS EMERGED. JULY 20
WAS TAKEN UP WITH FULL-SCALE "INFORMAL MEETING" OF COMMIT-
TEE, WHICH FURTHER AIRED DIFFERENCES, BUT CONCLUDED ON
MARKEDLY POSITIVE NOTE. US, G-77 AND MOST WESTERN REPS
ATTENDING CAME AWAY WITH VIEW THAT COMMITTEE COULD
LIVE WITH DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH AND MERITED FURTHER
EFFORTS. FOR US, WHICH THROUGHOUT THIS EXERCISE HAS BEEN
SEEN AS EXERTING POSITIVE LEADERSHIP ON THE WESTERN SIDE,

THIS WILL REQUIRE THAT WE CONTINUE TO BE WILLING TO PROVIDE FRANK GUIDANCE TO JAZAIRY, NOT ONLY ON HIS PAPER (SEPTEL), BUT ON HOW TOR ITEM AND REST OF AGENDA SHOULD BE HANDLED IN SEPTEMBER. BEYOND THAT, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO APPLY US PROPOSALS SET FORTH IN AMBASSADOR YOUNGS ECOSOC SPEECH CONCRETELY TO TRANSFER OF RESOURCES, FOOD AND OTHER ITEMS AT SEPT MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE. SEPTTEL WILL PROVIDE INFO OF EVENTS OF JULY 21, WHICH TERMINATED DISCUSSION OF COW IN GENEVA. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER TWO WEEKS OF SUSPENSE, AND FULL ROUND OF DECLARATIONS IN ECOSOC GENERAL DEBATE, CHAIRMAN JAZAIRY TOOK HIS FIRST STEPS IN RESUMED CONSULTATIONS ON UN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE (COW) BY CONVENING A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS (G-77, SOCIALISTS, NORDICS, OTHER WEOS) ON JULY 18. IN THESE FIRST DISCUSSIONS (AT LEAST WITH NORDICS AND OTHER WEOS) JAZAIRY GAVE SOME INDICATIONS OF HIS PLANS FOR DEVELOPING A PAPER ON TRANSFER OF RESOURCES (TOR) ISSUES. PAPER WAS TO SERVE AS CONCEPTUAL BASIS FOR GOVERNMENTS' FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF ISSUES IN THIS AREA, PRIOR TO RESUMED DISCUSSIONS IN SEPT. IN FACT, HOWEVER, AS PAPER EMERGED JULY 21, IT IS A REDRAFT OF TEXT ON ITEM 2 WHICH RESULTED FROM MAY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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MEETING, WITH MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, SUCH AS MONETARY AFFAIRS, REMOVED OR TONED DOWN CONSIDERABLY. IT WILL BE PROVIDED SEPTTEL.

3. ON JULY 19, JAZAIRY AND HORMATS HELD TWO-HOUR DISCUSSION. JAZAIRY NOTED THAT WHILE PREVIOUS DAYS' MEETINGS HAD ENCOURAGED HIS PLANS FOR TOR, THEY HAD GLOSSED OVER DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS ON FUNCTION OF COW WHICH HE BELIEVED MUST BE BROUGHT TO SURFACE. HORMATS AGREED, AND RESULT DISCUSSION WAS A HARD BUT FRANK LOOK AT THESE DIFFERENCES AND HOW THEY COULD BE NARROWED. JAZAIRY TRIED HARD TO PROMOTE VIEW THAT COW "COULD HAVE VALUE" ONLY IF IT REACHED "DECISIONS" WHICH AMOUNTED TO COMMITMENTS IN PRINCIPLE ON MAJOR ISSUES DISCUSSED IN OTHER FORA (EXAMPLE, A COMMITMENT TO DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO FIRST WINDOW OF COMMON FUND, WITH ALL MODALITIES, TO BE SURE, WORKED OUT IN UNCTAD). HORMATS INDICATED THIS WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO COW SERVING AS NEGOTIATING FORUM, WHICH WE COULD NOT ACCEPT, EVEN IF ONLY ON "GUIDELINES" AS SUGGESTED BY JAZAIRY. HE MAINTAINED VIEW THAT UNIQUE VALUE OF COW DISCUSSIONS WAS THAT OF STIMULATING REASSESSMENTS IN GOVERNMENTS WHICH COULD POSSIBLY LEAD TO CHANGES IN POSITIONS ON ISSUES BEING NEGOTIATED IN APPROPRIATE BODIES (EXAMPLE, CIEC DISCUSSION LEADING TO AGREEMENT ON RETROACTIVE TERMS ADJUSTMENT IN UNCTAD-TDB MINISTERIAL). WHILE FUNDAMENTAL GAP REMAINED

AT END OF DISCUSSION WITH RESPECT TO DECISION-MAKING FUNCTION OF COW, HORMATS ENCOURAGED JAZAIRY IN HIS PLANS FOR TOR, INDICATED THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO GIVE CLEARER ASSESSMENT OF VALUE OF HIS APPROACH ONCE WE SAW HIS PAPER, AND STRONGLY REAFFIRMED US COMMITMENT TO SUCCESS OF COMMITTEE.

4. IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER, HORMATS WENT OVER SAME GROUND WITH PEREZ-GUERRERO, WHO HAS BEEN IN GENEVA AWAITING CONTACTS ON COW. HORMATS STRESSED COW'S OPERATION AS A CON-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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TINUING PROCESS WHICH COULD LEAD TO POSITIVE RESULTS IN NEGOTIATING FORA. PEREZ-GUERRERO, WHILE STARTING FROM THESIS OF COW'S DECISION-MAKING POWER, SHOWED CONSIDERABLY MORE FLEXIBILITY THAN JAZAIRY - - ALLOWING THAT COW COULD REGISTER LACK OF AGREEMENT AS WELL AS AGREEMENT AND COULD ALSO INDICATE AREAS WHERE RE-EXAMINATION COULD BE PROVITABLE. CONCLUSIONS WERE QUITE POSITIVE, "CLOSE IN SPIRIT", AS PEREZ- GUERRERO SAID. HORMATS LATER WENT OVER US POSITION WITH ABUAH OF NIGERIA, MILLS OF JAMAICA AND OTHER G-77 LEADERS. AT CONCLUSION OF OTEHRWISE UN-EVENTFUL "DINNER-DEBATE" HOSTED BY FRG, MILLS SOUNDED POSITIVE NOTE ACKNOWLEDGING "FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES" BUT NEED TO MAKE COW SUCCEED DESPITE THEM.

5. ON JULY 20, WESTERN DELEGATIONS REVIEWED POSITIONS, WITH NO SURPRISES, AT 9:30 A.M. "VINCI GROUP" MEETING. THEREAFTER, REMAINDER OF WORKING DAY WAS TAKEN UP WITH FULL-SCALE "INFORMAL SESSION" OF COW, WHICH JAZAIRY SUGGESTED INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF PURPOSES OF COMMITTEE, SIMILAR TO DISCUSSION WITH HORMATS, STRESSING BALANCE AMONG FOUR ITEMS OF COW AGENDA. ALTHOUGH US AND MOST WESTERN DELS HAD HOPED TO AVOID SUCH AN OPEN DISCUSSION LEST IT WIDEN GAPS, FRG (MATHIAS) FELT COMPELLED TO OPEN DISCUSSION WITH A FIARLY RIGID, PREPARED EC STATEMENT. HORMATS AND OTHER MAJOR SPEAKERS OF WEST AND G-77 WHO FOLLOWED, HOWEVER, SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY DIFFERENCES AS WELL AS PROSPECTS FOR BRIDGING THEM, AND TO ENCOURAGE JAZAIRY'S EFFORTS. THOMAS OF UK AND AMBASSADOR HESSEL OF FRANCE OFFERED CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS ON WESTERN SIDE.ING-77, MILLS, PEREZ-GUERRERO, AND AKHUND OF PAKISTAN, WHO ARRIVED FROM HIS NEW POST IN PARIS FOR THE DISCUSSION, WERE MOST ACTIVE, AND FOR THE MOST PART POSITIVE, SPEAKERS (USDEL LATER LEARNED THAT WORD OF HORMATS DISCUSSIONS
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OF PREVIOUS DAY, PARTICULARLY WITH PEREZ-GUERRERO, HAD

QUICKLY SPREAD AMONG 77, AND THAT THIS HAD SALUTARY EFFECT ON DEBATE). JAZAIRY CONCLUDED WITH A MASTERFUL SUMMATION (DISCUSSED WITH HORMATS BEFOREHAND), IN WHICH HE NOTED "BROADENING ZONES OF CONVERGENCE, THROUGH OSMOSIS", WHILE ALSO POINTING TO WHERE DIFFERENCES REMAINED.

6. AMONG POINTS OF CONVERGENCE, JAZAIRY NOTED: AGREEMENT THAT COW WAS CENTRAL, "NO PLACE ELSE TO GO"; FLEXIBILITY ON WORK METHODS; COW NOT A "SEMINAR", BUT ACTION-ORIENTED, NOT "OVERVIEW ONLY", ALL ITS MANDATED FUNCTIONS OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE; "LDC'S ADMITTED TO CONCEPTUAL APPROACH", AS OPPOSED TO SCISSORS AND PASTE OPERATION; COW IS A POLITICAL BODY, "WHICH NATURE OF DISCUSSION AND LEVEL OF ATTENDANCE SHOULD REFLECT"; SELECTION OF TOPICS BASED ON PERSPECTIVE BOTH OF FEASIBLE AND ESSENTIAL; NO EXPECTATION OF AGREEMENT IN ALL AREAS, BUT COMMON HOPE FOR AGREEMENT IN SOME; NO OVERLAP WITH OTHER FORA, WHERE ACTION TO BE TAKEN; AGREEMENTS COULD BE DIFFERENT IN NATURE; NO MEANINGLESS TEXTS. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE ALL AGREED THAT COMMITTEE SHOULD HAVE AGREED CONCLUSIONS (I.E., NO MORE MENTION OF CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARIES, REJECTED BY G-77) THERE WAS "HAZINESS" ON THEIR CONTEXT, WITH SOME (WEST) WANTING COW TO "RECORD" POSITIONS WHILE OTHERS (77) WANTED A MORE "DYNAMIC" PROCESS. ALL AGREED, HE SAID, THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR COW TO REFER QUESTIONS BACK TO GOVERNMENTS, BUT DID NOT AGREE ON WHAT HAPPENED AFTER (WEST SEES "FALL-OUT" IN OTHER BODIES, 77 BELIEVES COW TO GIVE "GUIDE-LINES" TO OTHER BODIES).

7. JAZAIRY THEN PROPOSED FOLLOWING TIMETABLE:

A) CONSULTATIONS ON AFTERNOON OF FRIDAY, JULY 21 WITH "FRIENDS OF CHAIRMAN", TO BEGIN PROCESS OF OBTAINING GUIDANCE FOR A "SUGGESTED OUTLINE" ON TOR. AT CONCLUSION OF THIS PROCESS (TUESDAY, JULY 25), HE WOULD ISSUE OUTLINE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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"ON HIS OWN AUTHORITY" WITH NO GOVERNMENTS COMMITTED, IN ORDER TO HELP GOVERNMENTS PREPARE FOR SEPTEMBER.

B) DISCUSSIONS AMONG NEW YORK REPS TO "CLEAR UP OTHER HURDLES" PRIOR TO NEXT FORMAL MEETING IN SEPTEMBER.

C) MOVEMENT OF THIS MEETING FROM SEPTEMBER 5 TO 15 TO SEPTEMBER 18 TO 28.

THE LAST POSSIBILITY WAS QUICKLY DASHED BY OUDOVENKO OF CONFERENCE SERVICES, WHO INFORMED MEETING FLATLY THAT NO FACILITIES WOULD BE AVAILABLE. JAZAIRY COULD ONLY HOPE THAT "DELEGATIONS WOULD USE (U.S.) LABOR DAY TO GOOD AVAIL".

8. SOVIET AMBASSADOR NESTORENKO, WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY GIVEN A DOUR STATEMENT OF "CORRECTNESS" OF SOVIET POSITIONS (AND HENCE, NO "REASSESSMENTS" ON THEIR PART) THEN ATTACKED JAZAIRY'S PROPOSALS FOR INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS IN A PARTICULARLY HEAVY-HANDED MANNER, CLEARLY OFFENSIVE TO THE CHAIRMAN AND AS SHOCKING TO NEIGHBORING G-77 DELS - TANZANIA, CAMEROONS, VENEZUELA - AS IT WAS TO US. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE THAT SOVIETS GENUINELY FEAR COW MAY INVOLVE THEM IN A PROCESS THAT MAY PROVOKE MORE THAN RHETORIC.

9. GENERAL

COMMENT: THESE EVENTS AGAIN SHOW JAZAIRY'S WILLINGNESS AND CAPACITY TO TAKE THE LEAD, EVEN IF RELUCTANTLY, IN SEEKING TO KEEP COMMITTEE GOING. (G-77, AS BEST AS WE KNOW, ARRIVED IN GENEVA VACILLATING AND UNDECIDED ON WHAT TO DO AND REMAINED SO). AT SAME TIME AND CONTRARY TO UN INCLINATION TO PAPER OVER DIFFICULTIES, HE TOOK RISK OF OPENING UP FULL-SCALE DISCUSSION ON MAJOR DIVERGENCES OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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VIEW RATHER THAN RISK BLOW-UP LATER. HE DOES NOT HIDE HIS OWN PREDISPOSITIONS FROM US (ALTHOUGH ACTING NEUTRALLY WHEN IN CHAIR), BUT ALSO ACCEPTS AND INDEED EXPECTS THAT WE EXPRESS OUR FRANK VIEWS, WHICH HE SEES AS CONSTRUCTIVE. THE RESULT OF HIS EFFORTS HAS BEEN TO REMIND ALL THAT THERE ARE STILL SHOALS AHEAD, BUT ALSO TO SUGGEST THAT COMMITTEE STILL REPRESENTS A REAL OPPORTUNITY FOR DIALOGUE AND PROGRESS WHICH SHOULD NOT BE SCRAPPED. THIS, WE BELIEVE, IS THE VIEW OF MOST OF THE G-77 WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED, IT IS THE VIEW OF THE PARTICIPANTS FROM THE US, THE UK, CANADA, JAPAN AND MOST (ALTHOUGH NOT ALL) OTHER OECD COUNTRIES.

10. ACTION NEEDED: AS WILL BE NOTED SEPTTEL TRANSMITTING JAZAIRY'S PAPER, DISCUSSION OF COW AT ECOSOC HAS TERMINATED. OUR REACTIONS TO HIS PAPER, BOTH ON SUBSTANCE AND ON HOW TOR AND OTHER AGENDA ITEMS WILL BE HANDLED IN SEPTEMBER, SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO JAZAIRY IN ALGIERS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THESE MIGHT BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOME INDICATION OF HOW WE WOULD APPLY YOUNG PROPOSAL TO TOR ITEM, AS EVIDENCE OF SERIOUSNESS OUR INTENT. THEREAFTER, AND DESPITE LIMITED TIME FRAME, US SHOULD BE READY WITH CLEAR INDICATIONS IN SEPTEMBER AS TO INITIATIVES WE ARE PREPARED TO TAKE, UNILATERALLY OR IN APPROPRIATE FORA, IN THE TRANSFER OF RESOURCES AREA. WE WILL ALSO HAVE TO GIVE CLEAR DIRECTIONS TO THE "REASSESSMENT PROCESS" IN THE SEPTEMBER MEETING, PARTICULARLY ON FOOD, WHERE US HAS MOST TO OFFER.

11. DEPT MAY WISH, AT ITS DISCRETION, TO RETRANSMIT

MESSAGE TO OTHER OECD AND KEY LDC CAPITALS FOR INFO.
VANDEN HEUVEL

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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